

summer 1979 25p

# AUTHORITY No.2

Revolution 1919



What Future 1979 ?

# EDITORIAL

The pause of over a year between the appearance of Authority No.1 and No.2 has no doubt lead some people to hope for our disappearance. In our first issue we had applied a liberal dose of vitriol to the anarchist movement. The display of simple-minded platitudes as revolutionary or even merely "liberating" thought turned our stomachs. As we had all played our part contributing to this nonsense, we felt that we should now play our part in putting a stop to it.

Since then "Zero" has disappeared after being one of the most widely distributed anarchist papers. Its lack of content soon undermined its careful presentation. Its hopes to produce a synthesis of anarchism, feminism and situationism soon foundered because the collective was not prepared to read situationist ideas, but remained fascinated by the by the "fun" tactics used. Its anarchism amounted to the refusal to accept any attempt to analyse society as a whole, and often the feminist contribution only amounted to the glorification of that "feminine" virtue passivity.

However Freedom, Black Flag, Anarchy, Bread and Roses, and Solidarity still continue to dish up their menus for social change. The appearance of a new anarchist London weekly paper threatens to turn London into the "Barcelona of the North".....well if nothing else it will be a source of amusement. It seems that the omnipresent "postal worker" has turned up amongst its pages. It will soon be obligatory for every anarchist paper or group to have a token "postal worker" amongst its team.

But Authority has outgrown its humble origins. We are no longer prepared to play court jester to the anarchist movement. (To assign us to this role was a lot easier than coming to grips with what we said. We are now confronting a wider spectrum of ideologies, and this requires something more than just sarcasm.

Over the last year we have put in several appearances ■■ at demonstrations and leftist meetings. On the occasion of the second anti-Nazi League carnival we distributed a leaflet attacking anti-fascism's role of bolstering up the Labour party. Our attempts to heckle such noted socialists as Anthony Wedgewood Benn (the next Labour Prime Minister ?) were drowned by the applause the crowd gave him.

We have also been involved in a rather confused correspondence with the French group Pour une Intervention Communiste. We found some language problems. And we have had some tedious discussions with the I.C.C. But we have continued to have a close relationship with the bookshop Rising Free.

As the social edifice continues to crumble and with the possibilities of increased class struggle appearing over the next few years, there is good reason to continue the publication of Authority. It is not that we wish to add to the vast piles of "radical" rubbish that oozes out of society as if from an open wound. We would rather scratch that wound, and dig away to get a clearer understanding of what is going on. The publication of Authority will remain only a part of our activities. But it is an important part. We welcome response to what we write.

AUTHORITY, Box 666, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N 1

# The Contemplation Of History

"The social revolution of the nineteenth century can only create its poetry from the future. It cannot begin its own work until it has sloughed off all its superstitious regard for the past."

The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte - Marx

Those glorious days of the revolution in the period just following the first world war are continually being served up as a framework for contemporary revolutionary activity. The trotskyists dream of commanding the red army while leninists fantacise about five years plans, Gramsci suddenly comes into vogue, and even Bordiga is thrown into this activist whirlpool. But alongside the flotsam and jetsom of leftist pseudo-history are the few attempts to unravel the tangle of history and find out why the revolution failed.

Whilst the motorist spends Sunday tinkering with the car, and the gardener mows the lawn and weeds the flower-bed, today's revolutionary historian thumbs through volumes of E.H. Carr or the selected works of Lenin in search of the secret of failure. Was it the Brest-Litovsk treaty? The Party substituting itself for the class? Maybe the Bolsheviks were swallowed up by the state apparatus? Or perhaps the isolation of the revolution in Russia? And so the minutiae of history are scrutinised, and various moral recommendations appear - the party shouldn't seize state power, no relations with capitalist states etc., etc. In this way the events of the revolution are ripped out of their historical continuum, reduced to the level of polemical debate, and finally interpreted as a lesson of history. In this way "ten days that shook the world" become ten points of theoretical clarification.

# The Future of Revolution



(continued next page)

# This World ....

"Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself. We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the now existin premise."

The German Ideology - Marx.

The failure of the russian revolution was just a moment in the failure of the world revolution. The "errors" of the bolsheviks could have been dealt with had the communist movement been able to deal with the forces of capitalism on a worldwide basis. But american capital emerged relatively unscathed from the war compared to Russia, Germany, Britain or France. These latter countries no longer had armies that could be relied on, social unrest and mutinies were a constant threat. But in the USA such risings as the Seattle general strike were easily isolated and supressed.

The USA was thereby able to support the entente powers in their efforts to restore capitalist order to Europe. The threat of blockade prevented the austrian workers from seizing power and soon toppled Bela Kun in Hungary. In Germany the trade unions and the social democrats soon neutralised the workers councils.

Unfortunately capitalism hadn't become "decadent" merely requiring the concerted effort of the proletariat to overthrow it. It had however been undergoing a profound transformation. It had outgrown its period of formal domination and established itself as an integrated world system dominating every aspect of life. Although small areas of feudalism and tribalism still remained, these were marginal and in rapid decline.

This transformation had been visible for many years. Capital had been outgrowing the constraints of individual ownership. The state was now its absolute servant taking in hand more and more aspects of economic and social activity.

The process of representative democracy had been steadily eroded during the nineteenth century. Previously in the british parliament the MPs had met each other representing particular interests. Coalitions were formed and resolved around individual issues. With the advent of

modern political parties, with strict party unity, parliament came to administer the needs of capital as a whole. It was no longer possible for any capitalist faction to maintain any autonomy from the national capital. They were all drawn into the web of the state where they could strive for their individual interests but only in subservience to the national interest.

The unions, as capitalist organs set in motion by the workers in order to defend the interests of their members within the capitalist economy, similarly could not maintain their autonomy. The Social-Democratic parties and other organisations set up by the workers in order to build up their power within capitalist society, from which vantage point the heavens could finally be stormed, all lost their last traces of autonomy.

The whole conception of social democracy and equally of revolutionary or anarcho-syndicalism was the more rational management of the economy. The periodic crises of capitalism were to be solved through workers management. The dictatorship of the proletariat was to lead to rational management of capitalism, i.e. the dictatorship of capital. But for the small groups of revolutionaries within these movements socialism was not the "democratic management of capital" but its complete

destruction. In this way the communist minorities remained submerged within the formal organisations of the working class. They only emerged as the communist movement as a whole emerged in society. But this emergence was not a clean break, taking several years. The communist movement only sporadically broke out of the capitalist workerism of social democracy and this proved to be a fatal weakness.

Where the proletariat was able to maintain its autonomy it was crushed by force of arms. (Petrograd, Munich). The unions and the social democrats were now serving the purpose of reinforcing the necessities of capitalist rule amongst the working class. When the bolsheviks seized or inaugurated various institutions they were soon governed by the necessities of russian capital. Like the social democrats they became administrators of capital.

For sixty years now the autonomous struggle of the proletariat has been nothing but sporadic outbursts with no direction

and easily recuperated into capitalism or annihilated. The growing global crisis of capitalism ensures for the communist movement the possibility of revolution.

## ....We Must Destroy

The intervening period of capitalism's real domination has transformed all society. The strain placed upon the individual through famine, war or alienation has taken its toll. Whereas the revolutionaries of the twenties were faced with overcoming deeply entrenched capitalist workerism of the left, today we are faced with the social atomisation of the population. The left is continually playing with the chemistry of alienation in an effort to find some ideology which will stir the masses. Often it is successful, but the effects do not last for long. Reality soon catches them up. The various reforms they strive for soon vaporise in the steady development of the global crisis. But this disillusionment and social disintegration also hinders the revolutionary movement. It will be however necessity that leads to autonomous struggle of the proletariat.

As the world economic situation is poised for a nose-dive from its already depressed condition, this necessity will become more and more apparent. Outbreaks of anti-capitalist struggle will appear. At first they will be localised, but they will tend to unify. It seems that this will be a slow process.

These struggles will give rise to autonomous forms of organisation. Should this organisation start representing the proletariat in negotiations with the ruling class it will lead either to its dissolution or its integration into capitalist society. During the last revolutionary wave the form taken for autonomous organisation was

workers councils - however this does not necessarily mean that this will be the form they take in the upcoming revolutionary wave. Similarly the question of the "party of the proletariat" cannot be resolved by studying the history of the bolsheviks, the KAPD etc. This can only be resolved by the resurgence of the class struggle. It is clear that it will be neither similar to the mass party of social democracy, or the network of cells of the bolsheviks. The various communist groups that exist now may only play a minor part in its appearance as it will be from the class struggle that it emerges, once this struggle has become sufficiently developed.

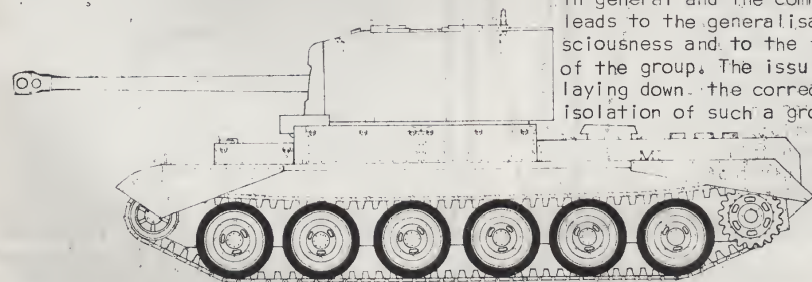
Rather than dreaming of "revolutionary grandeur" past or future, the existence of a communist group depends on its ability to criticise the whole spectrum of capitalist ideology (from fascism to self-management), to develop an understanding of the dynamics of capitalism and the communist movement, and to communicate with other communist movements.

The criticism of capitalist ideology is a practical affair, sometimes verbal, sometimes physical. As regards leftism it is a question of making the rupture real.

The development of understanding is not merely a theoretical affair. It can only leave the arid wasteland of academicism when it is accompanied by involvement with in class struggle. In this way it is a moment groups and the proletariat generally.

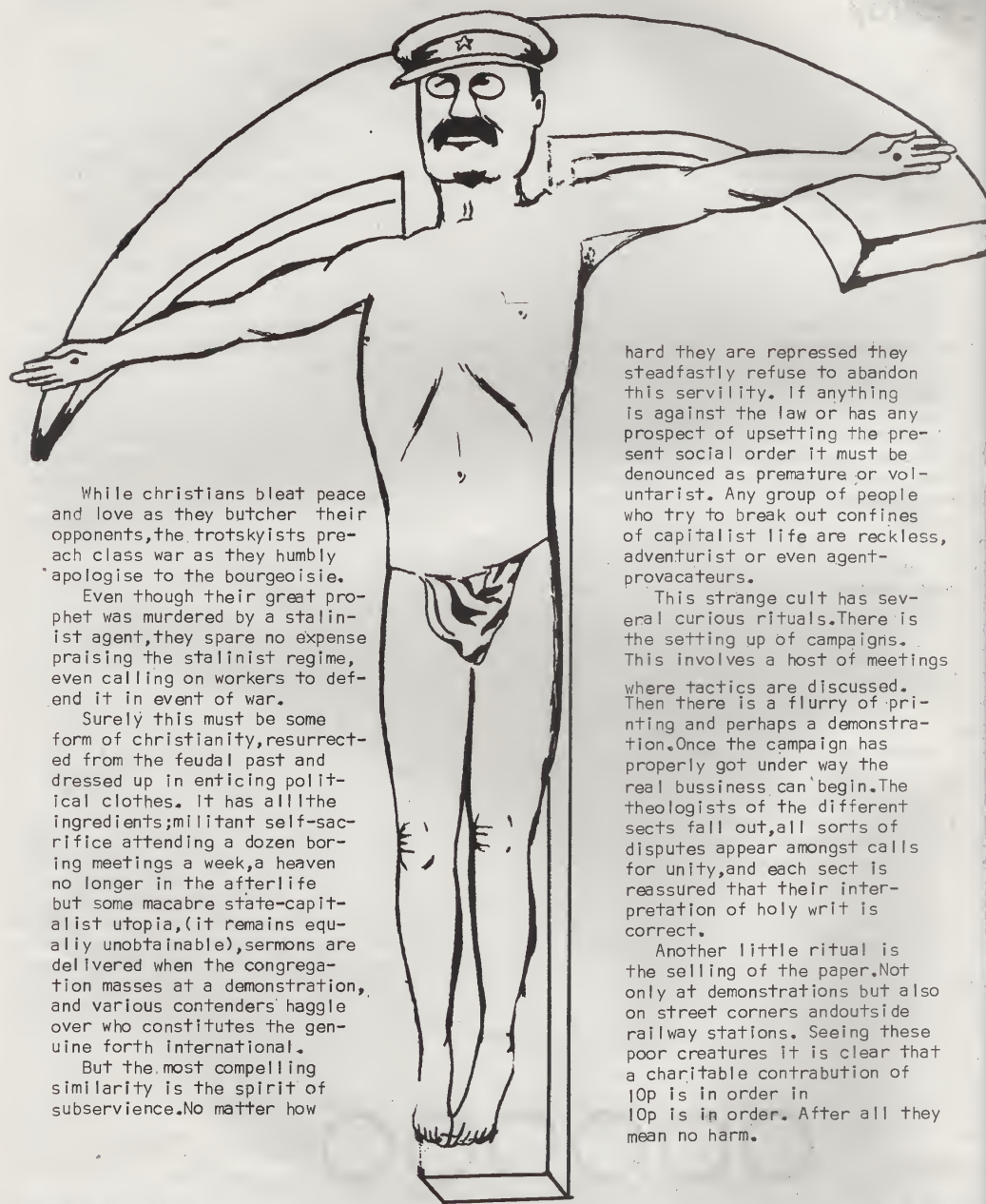
Communication with other communist groups is essential to avoid isolation and obsessive introspection. On the otherhand continual pleading for regroupment leads nowhere unless there is a real basis for it in the activity and theory of the groups involved. The mere desire for unification can help illusions.

Similarly high-sounding pronouncements offering workers the "truth of communism" are beside the point. It is dialogue, a continual relationship between the class in general and the communist groups which leads to the generalisation of class consciousness and to the further development of the group. The issuing of proclamations laying down the correct line reflects the isolation of such a group.



**THE TANK: the bourgeoisie's answer to worker's autonomy**

# Trotskyism: A Christian Revival



While christians bleat peace and love as they butcher their opponents, the trotskyists preach class war as they humbly apologise to the bourgeoisie.

Even though their great prophet was murdered by a stalinist agent, they spare no expense praising the stalinist regime, even calling on workers to defend it in event of war.

Surely this must be some form of christianity, resurrected from the feudal past and dressed up in enticing political clothes. It has all the ingredients; militant self-sacrifice attending a dozen boring meetings a week, a heaven no longer in the afterlife but some macabre state-capitalist utopia, (it remains equally unobtainable), sermons are delivered when the congregation masses at a demonstration, and various contenders haggle over who constitutes the genuine forth international.

But the most compelling similarity is the spirit of subservience. No matter how

hard they are repressed they steadfastly refuse to abandon this servility. If anything is against the law or has any prospect of upsetting the present social order it must be denounced as premature or voluntarist. Any group of people who try to break out confines of capitalist life are reckless, adventurist or even agent-provateurs.

This strange cult has several curious rituals. There is the setting up of campaigns. This involves a host of meetings where tactics are discussed. Then there is a flurry of printing and perhaps a demonstration. Once the campaign has properly got under way the real business can begin. The theologists of the different sects fall out, all sorts of disputes appear amongst calls for unity, and each sect is reassured that their interpretation of holy writ is correct.

Another little ritual is the selling of the paper. Not only at demonstrations but also on street corners and outside railway stations. Seeing these poor creatures it is clear that a charitable contribution of 10p is in order. 10p is in order. After all they mean no harm.

Ten years ago, Paul Cardan realised the potential that the ideology of self management had as a basis for a new form of syndicalism:

"At the same time it is necessary to call for the workers - without leaving any illusions in the union as such - to join the C.F.D.T., because it is the least bureaucratised and the most amenable at its base to the ideas of the movement, and above all so that this question and this demand can be posed: Self-management is not only good outside the union; it is also good for the union section, the union itself, the federation and the confederation."

La Revolution Anticipee, Paris 1968.

Now the C.F.D.T., that union which fearlessly maintains its disdain for Stalinism, is offering a helping hand to the boy-genius Raymond Barre, who is finding he can't manage the french economy all by himself. However this economic wizard has hit on the novel scheme of increasing prices whilst keeping wages down. If the workers can be induced to "self-manage" such an exciting new solution to the economic nightmare of capitalism, Cardan's efforts will not have been in vain.

It must be remembered that this ideology served the bourgeoisie well in Spain during the civil war. C.N.T. films proudly announced that under workers control production had been increased by 50% during the heroic defence of the spanish republic from german and italian interference. Hopefully the new C.N.T. will build up its links with the C.F.D.T.

However things in Poland don't look so rosy. Lacking any independent unions the silly polish workers have taken to rioting and striking. Both in 1970 and 1976 there was a distinct danger of an insurrection breaking out.

This will come as no surprise to our readers who know as well as we do that the Stalinists have nowflair for industrial relations. They send a few tanks in and think that will keep the lid on things. The official unions are so obviously mere appendages of capitalism, that they fool no-one. The trotskyist schemes for a democratic facelift are not sufficient. Completely new institutional channels are needed if strikes are to be contained and thus defeated.

As there are no sections of the C.F.D.T. in Poland for the workers to join, it is most fortunate that some ex-members of the Workers Defence Comm-



## From the Swamps of Cardanism: SELF-MANAGED EXPLOITATION

ittee (KOR) are setting up the Social Self-Defence Committee. Although it cannot yet be said to be a true union, it has already institutionalised links between workers and the intelligentsia and so dissolved any working class response into a general liberal outcry at the terrors of Stalinist rule, fighting for human rights and democracy.

If independent unions with a taste for self-management are developed, then any more regrettable incidents such as the riots of recent years should be a thing of the past. Without them Poland has only slim hopes of treating the workers to lavish helpings of austerity measures in its attempt to keep its economy on an even keel.

# Economic Crisis & Revolution. Or,

A conspiracy of silence and careful distortion of what doesn't fit the picture of Italy as a panting country trying to catch up with the other industrial "democracies," have mystified the Italian events in the past year. If one believes the American press, the only problem is to know how long the Carter Administration will succeed in keeping the so-called Communist Party out of the government: however another much more dangerous reality, whose lineaments we will attempt to trace, seems to threaten the

## INTRODUCTION

management of the crisis and the project of integration of the country into the new international economic order.

At the end of September 1977, Bologna, showplace of the Communist Administration that has ruled it for the past 30 years, was the site of an uncommon gathering. More than 50,000 youths in multicolored dress had arranged to meet there and to discuss not the law concerning youth unemployment, not university reform, but—scandal!—how to change their lives *practically* and how to get out of the tiger cage in which humanity is imprisoned by the dictatorship of capital. One of the main questions to be discussed at the meeting was the leading role played by the PCI (Italian Communist Party) in the repression of the movement that had begun to raise its voice since the end of 1976 and not only in Bologna.

What are the characteristics of this movement? Which is its social composition? What is the significance of the events that are convulsing the country? In fact, what is happening in Italy can be understood if considered in context of the situation that defines the present phase of capital domination. The ruling class necessity is now basically that of *planning* the crisis through further centralization of the economy and a generalized production of consensus. Inside the international strategy of intensifying accumulation, Italy represents a trouble spot: there is an overlapping of contradictions which are at the same time the outcome of the backwardness of the country and of the global unrealizability of the project as such.

The movement that in these months has been tailoring for an identity expresses then the *refusal* of waged and unwaged people to submit to the new strategy of capital and tendentially the *affirmation* of communism. Though clearly connected to the revolutionary whirlwind that swept the globe in the 60s, this movement marks at the same time an important break with the organizational forms that emerged then. The importance it has for revolutionaries the world over extends far beyond the specific situation in Italy; before more closely examining the facts, let us cast an eye on the international struggle, and the place within it occupied by Italy . . .

Contrary to what is claimed in the world press, and echoed in Italy by a good part of the "oppositionist" press, the crisis aggravating the country, far from be-

ing simply the fruit of irrational management practices or economic "retardation," is a surprisingly homogeneous part of a crisis of worldwide dimensions—the most profound, the most disruptive and, it must be concluded, the gravest since 1929. This crisis, which could be described as the end and failure of the "Keynesian Revolution" originated among the *most developed* blocks of capital, and subsequently involved the weaker countries of the European Economic Community—EEC (Italy and Great Britain first, followed closely by France), then those nations euphemistically called "developing" (these include also the oil-producing countries, today, despite appearances subordinated more than ever to the big powers), and last but not least the countries immersed in the economic mush and political lethargy of the so-called socialist bloc. The Bretton Woods era, starting just after W.W.II and characterized by a relatively continuous accumulation under the hegemony of the U.S., has thus come to an end, opening a period of uncertainty and conflict. While the economists of opposing ideologies are busy cutting each other's throats in the hopeless attempt to find the recipe for the crisis, we face a worldwide development of a new cycle of proletarian struggles (Portugal 75, Poland 76, Spain, France, U.S. wildcat coal strikes, etc.) whose important aspect is *the refusal of work as wage labor*, and the demand for non-institutionalizable expression.

It is necessary to begin with an analysis of capital, of its characteristics as a specific mode of production, and of the laws which regulate its *historical becoming*, in order to be able to grasp, in its shifting vicissitudes, the emergence of the communist movement.

Capital, value in process, is a contradictory being (1), its foundation and its *raison d'être* being the production of surplus value, the valorization of anticipated value. In the course of its development it is negated and creates devalorization—the impossibility of continuing the process indefinitely. The marxist theory of accumulation expresses such contradiction (valorization/devalorization) as the *tendency of the rate of profit to fall*, a tendency which expresses in every aspect "the most important law of modern political economy" (2) and which accounts in the last instance for every capitalist crisis. A crisis represents nothing but an interruption of the accumulation process.

Because of market relations it can assume the guise of an overproduction crisis: the commodities produced lie unsold and thus their value is not realized. Overproduction, of course, is always in relation to capital and not to society as a whole. In fact "it must be said that there is constant *under-production* in this sense.

The limits to the production are set by the profits of the capitalists and in no way by the needs of the producer. Over-production of products and over-production of commodities are two entirely different things" (3). The roots of the crisis are not found in the inability of capital to *realize* value, but in the impossibility of *producing* it anew. Precisely by reason of the

fall in the rate of profit (4), money capital finds no space for investment and therefore remains inert or else is used for speculation, which can be lucrative from the standpoint of a single capitalist, but is counterproductive from the standpoint of capital as a whole. Valorization indeed ceases when the capital accumulated has outgrown its new base, and a situation is created wherein there is at once too much capital in the form of capital of circulation (5), but not enough to permit new investment, i.e. recapitalization, or conversion of such capital into productive forms.

Italy needed to be "humanized" and to *seem* attentive to the needs of human beings. Valorization could no longer be limited to the sphere of "classical" commodities, but *had* to penetrate each moment, each aspect of life. The production of mystification and of false consciousness proved essential in allowing capital to survive and accomplish the final transition towards its *real domination* (8).

Real domination, on the other hand, doesn't mean that capital succeeded in transcending its inherent barriers as a historical mode of production: a process of fictitious socialization is engendered, the capital/labor

# Apropos of Capital and its Contradictions.

Naturally this tendency toward breakdown presents itself in a more or less mystified fashion every time, and assumes different guises according to the particular historical circumstances. It is normally fragmented into a series of apparently independent cycles and is moreover powerfully opposed by a series of counter-tendencies, which Marx analyzes in Volume III of Capital. In brief, to escape the crisis, capital can only compensate for the falling rate of profit by increasing the mass of profit and the rate of exploitation (6).

Given the poor work habits of the masses and their rising combativity, it would appear difficult (although not impossible) in a "democratic" society to effect such an increase through the forcible extrication of absolute surplus value (that is through an indiscriminate increase in working hours or reduction of wages to a level beneath the value of labor power. Consequently an increase in the rate of exploitation can only mean an increase in labor productivity, that is, an increase in the organic composition of capital (7). This means the elimination of living labor (human labor-power) in favor of dead labor (means of production)—in other words, elimination of a great number of workers from the production process.

It is important to note at this point how this "natural selection" affects in the concrete those individuals most untamed politically, most precarious legally, most feeble psychologically, most defenseless socially—women, immigrants, youths, ethnic minorities—or, finally, those who are simply the most ill-disposed toward work discipline, the "laziest," those who love best their humanity and can threaten in any way the already unstable functioning of the economy. Historically capital has met this situation by absorbing excess workers in a broadening of the productive base, the destruction of small enterprises, and intensive conquest of internal and foreign markets.

However after WWI and the defeat of the revolution first in Europe and then in Russia, a qualitative change became necessary to integrate the labor-force and make it the active subject of its own exploitation. Cap-

italism now *seems* soluble in labor's favor, even with the old relations of production intact. Revolution is presented as a "superseded," "infantile" phase of the labor movement, and no effort is spared in psychiatrizing and criminalizing revolutionaries.

Without pretending to furnish a detailed analysis of the ongoing crisis, we will recall certain features which make it extremely significant. The first that meets the eye in contemplating the development of the postwar international economy is that, although labor productivity has increased enormously, the index of industrial production has simultaneously slackened off. (cf. data collected in Programme Communiste No. 72). The conjuncture of these two elements can only lead to relative "overpopulation," that is, mass unemployment. According to the London Financial Times (4/2/77), voice of the British bourgeoisie, such unemployment has hit youth especially. Representing 20% of the work force, youths under 25 form 40% of the jobless in the OECD countries, or 7 million of a total of 18 million unemployed. According to the same source, this tendency has continued in Europe since at least 1970—that is *before* the crisis became manifest in all its force (9).

Just as American capital (in the past) has understood how to use the racial question to its own advantage, pitting the employed against the unemployed (ethnic minorities), so in Europe the same thing is now being promoted between the generations, a conflict produced by the social dislocation of the 60s. In the course of the crisis it has been ascertained that those who already have work are to some extent protected by their union contracts, which at least make layoffs more difficult. In contrast the labor which presents itself for the first time on the market finds itself handicapped by the reluctance of many contractors to take on young people, since they cost more than older workers and their productivity is initially lower. (According to one Italian estimate it costs 20% more to employ a youth rather than a qualified adult).

As far as Italy is concerned, it is interesting to note

how the *institutional* function of the unions clashes with their *historical* function as instruments of capital's rationalization. Vigorously defending any occupation whatever, they hinder the mobility of labor and demand the preservation of unproductive complexes which the process of competition should long since have condemned beyond appeal. Such a function, though for capital it has the undoubtedly positive side-effect of nourishing the working population's illusion of well-being, does not, on the other hand, take into consideration any of the elementary needs of other growing strata and creates insuperable obstacles to social peace (10). Economists, furthermore, anticipate that the growth of unemployment, far from slowing, is destined continually to increase in the coming decade.

These observations allow us to consider the second interesting aspect of the crisis: despite the fact that in the past year profits in almost all the industrialized countries have resumed an upward course, *unemployment has continued to rise*, as much in Europe as in the US. This means that capital is less and less able to reabsorb excluded labor via new investments: the production of *relative* overpopulation tends to become *absolute* (11).

From the standpoint of communist revolution this is immensely important, for two reasons: a) the factory working class, once comprising a majority, is now shrinking in relation to other social strata, thus increasing the number of those who rather than producing surplus value, simply live off it (the new middle class); and b) huge strata are arising which are excluded both from activity directly connected to the production of surplus value (the working class) and from its circulation (precisely the new middle classes). These strata constitute a tremendous drag on modern society, a permanent reservoir of social antagonism. If powers like the U.S. are rich enough to support these marginal strata, guaranteeing their survival in return for social peace (i.e. welfare system), in Italy, where the capitalist mode of production has encountered great obstacles and has never experienced harmonious development, there does not exist such a system capable of feeding all these people, and the state is confronted by masses of individuals with literally nothing to lose and everything to gain from the system's collapse. Nor is it a matter of mechanistically counterposing, as has often been tried, these marginal strata (dubbed "the new proletariat") to the supposedly "bourgeoisified" working class; the very experience of struggle of these past few years in Italy loudly refutes such falsely extremist theories. Some of the most radical moments of the anticapitalist struggle took place in the factories and in the milieux of work: wildcat strikes, generalized absenteeism, sabotage, ridicule of union bureaucrats and the "priest of dissent," etc. Many concrete examples of this come to mind; a few will serve our purpose here.

We can recall the situation of permanent tension at the FIAT factory of Turin where several sabotages and fires occurred, at the UNIDAL of Milan where massive layoffs were met by continuous strikes and eventually by the occupation of the factory: recent news (Corriere della Sera, January 23, 1978) tell that some union bureaucrats were insulted and seized by the rank and file for having accepted an agreement considered unfavorable. Analogous struggles, whose point of departure is the right to a wage regardless of work performed, have been fought also at the Innocenti, Fargas, Magneti Marelli in the industrial area of Milan, at the Italsider, Breda, Montedison in

Mestre (Venice) and practically all the way through the peninsula. Especially attacked have been the centers of the so-called "lavoro nero" (black market labor), that is to say labor accomplished outside the official market in which there is no protection whatever for the worker and exploitation has no legal limits. In the past year also the struggles of the white collar workers have been extremely combative, particularly at Montedison and IBM (Milan), where electronic calculators are continually sabotaged and managers beaten.

Once more it is necessary to start from the dynamics of capital to comprehend these events: in fact we are faced with a process which tends ever more toward the production of what Marx in the German Ideology defined as the "universal class." This class, produced by the spread of wage labor and the separation of the majority from the means of production, includes not only workers in the traditional sense, but the vast numbers of all who have no power over their own lives and are reduced to mere appendages of the valorization process.

If in the increasingly rare periods of economic prosperity, the enormous capacities developed by the so-called consumer society *river* the individual to his miseries without allowing him to become conscious or to achieve subversive expression, the ineluctable crises, due to the simple fact that they prevent the system from satisfying the needs it itself has created, cause contradictions which have *apparently* been overcome, to return explosively. The capitalist machine thus runs across a multiplicity of subversive currents which are not limited to the workplace or wage labor, but invest the social totality and express in everyday life the most radical of all needs: the need for communism. Now it is important to understand that the subject of the new critique is no longer solely the working class, but *must* be extended to all those who in one way or the other refuse to recognize the fictitious community of capital. The distinction between productive and unproductive labor that is the basis for the theory of the working class as the exclusive subject of human emancipation, is valid only as an internal contradiction of capital, at this point. All work appears by now as *work for capital*; although it may not contribute directly to the *creation* of value, it has become an indispensable moment of value's *circulation or realization*.

In its most complete phase capital tends to free itself from its material base (commodity production) and tends to create fictitious value (12): from this moment on it aims to transform everything into capital, to colonize the daily lives of men and women. The attack on working conditions, however necessary is no longer sufficient: on the barricades of the coming revolution, the rebels against factory enslavement must encounter the guerrillas of the quotidian.

Though manifesting a high degree of homogeneity with the rest of the advanced countries, the Italian crisis possesses several peculiarities which render it particularly explosive. In order to dispense with all ideologies which tend to present the situation as a sort of "Latin Americanization," it is well at this point to recall some features that have from the beginning distinguished Italian capital.

While in other European countries the great bourgeois revolutions of the modern age created either a concentrated productive unity under the direction of rentier capitalists (Britain) or a stratum of free and independent proprietors (France),

This article constitutes the first part of "Revolution and Counter Revolution in Italy." The rest will appear in the next issue of Authority. It was written between November 1977 - January 1978, and this translation first appeared in Fifth Estate (Vol. 13 No. 5+6). Our thanks to them for sending us the art work.



in Italy there was no grand and simultaneous liberation from feudal serfdom, which was never the dominant social form. According to the data from diverse areas, every type of rural industry dwelt in relative liberty, from the small to the medium-large, from those based on intensive cultivation to those cultivated extensively, and conjoining all forms of private property, small, middling and large, in communal demesnes and rural communities. A great battle to relieve rural industries and classes of the burden of seigneurial control was not necessary and did not occur; should such forces have raised their heads, they would have been faced with the Towns, the Seigneurs, the Monarchy and the same from beyond the borders.  
(Bordiga, Property and Capital)

The rather unique situation in the Italian agriculture, beyond showing the grave error of treating the country as feudal, accounts for the stunted development of the past 100 years. Since the Risorgimento (the aborted bourgeois revolution), Italy has experienced a highly contradictory growth, where modern technologies have been associated with absolute unproductivity. The dynamic is not between an advanced North and an underdeveloped South supposedly dragging behind, but is inherent in the very structure of Italian capital whose expansion is based on the permanent looting of the South.

In its turn, having neither a solid revolutionary tradition nor any particular entrepreneurial capabilities to back it up, the Italian bourgeoisie has always been inclined toward compromise and reformism, remaining forcibly subservient to finance capital and special protected ("clientelari") interests. It has always striven for monopoly profits rather than increased productivity, and the governments that succeeded one another under various labels have taken care not to meddle in things. From the days of Agostino Depretis (the 1870s) and "transformismo" (an antediluvian version of the historical compromise), (13) the Italian economy has been characterized by this protected capitalism, which presently represents its interests via the governing party (the Christian Democrats—DC—30 years in power, with 38% of the vote in the June '76 elections). The DC is firmly tied to the great holdings of the state—Montedison, ENI, IRI, etc.—which can indulge in any sort of unproductive speculative activity, being able to count on obliging rescues by the executive. This incredible waste of productive forces contributes, through the leveling mechanisms of the rate of profit, to a diminution of capital's average profitability (e.g. causing a 20% inflation rate, notably higher than that of other industrial countries, which hovers around 8%). This provokes the indignation of those sectors of capital unprotected by the state, who see themselves thereby deprived of a fat slice of the cake. Some of these sectors (among whom may be included Gianni Agnelli former president of the employers' organization—Confindustria—and president of FIAT) are coming to realize more and more how in this phase the PCI can better defend their interests, and are revising, albeit with great caution their traditional anti-communism.

As for the PCI and the various factions of the "New Left" (Manifesto—PDUP, Avanguardia Operaia, Movimento Lavoratori per il Socialismo—MLS, Lotta Continua, Re Nudo, etc.) that are returning to its protective fold it is not exact to dwell as many people do upon the be-

trayal of these forces because they have long operated on the terrain of capital. The present Euro-communist policy of the party is the logic outcome of a longtime strategy aiming to salvage the Italian capital in cooperation with the national bourgeoisie. This goes back to the Popular Front period when Togliatti collaborated with the DC and the Americans to smash any proletarian insurrection. Having in mind that every time the working class attempted to fight not for a bit higher wage but against the wage system *as such*, the PCI stood for the capitalist camp, it can be conceded that in some sense the PCI has defended the interests of the class in whose name it speaks and acts, but this defense supposing the preservation of wage-labor and commodity production, could only result in an apology for *living labor*, i.e. the glorification of the working class from the point of view of capital. Moreover, "the general interest is only the generality of individual egotistical interests" (Grundrisse); namely the bourgeois notion of the interests of one man delimited by those of another which amounts only to democratic equality under the dictatorship of value (14).

What is new is that now even this kind of mild defense has come to an end and the present PCI and union policy aims to an immediate attack against the working class and to a protection of the new middle classes even if this is still disguised by populist phraseology. From the dustbin of history the most stinking political platitudes are dredged up. Lucio Magri the stalino-reformist leader of PDUP joins Cossiga (former Minister of Interior) and Zangheri (Communist mayor of Bologna) in boldly declaring that "Italy is the country in the world with the most real democracy" (*Socialist Revolution* No. 36, p. 117), the Communist Amendola revives the "alliance of wage and profit against rent", that miserable utopia of Ricardian socialist ridiculed by Marx 100 years ago, Trentin (union leader) writes a book "*Da Sfruttati a Produttori*" (From Exploited to Producers) which attempts to demonstrate that the "transition" to socialism is a matter of giving more power to the unions. Manipulating the still attractive notion of democracy, and playing cleverly on anti-fascist ideology (15) the PCI and the official Left have created a Pirendelloesque climate in which every case of genuine anticapitalism turns into its opposite and every step toward rationalization of exploitation is passed off as a "victory for labor".

Once the ideological aura is removed, what remains of the Italian political scene is only a conflict among gangs all operating *within* the logic of capital. One side tries to defend the existing protected profits, and in this difficult task seems willing to spare no effort. Another, composed of "enlightened" industrialist and various progressionists, would like to undertake the famous project of rationalization and match the country to a "European standard". A third led by the Communist Party, dredges up the old Leninist dream of "a bourgeois state without bourgeoisie", this time in a reformist vein (which means being pluralistic and democratic with its capitalist competitor and Stalinist with the proletariat). The last gang, unquestionably the looser, —which extends from the worshippers of the Peking bureaucracy to the supporters of the "Partito combattente", pursues the same Leninist dream but criticizes reformism and promises true Bolshevik tactics and proletarian toughness.

While it is difficult and relatively unrewarding to forecast which racket will prevail, it is vital for revolutionaries to know how to recognize their enemies and to divest themselves of all dangerous illusions. It is

interesting, in this regard, to note how the recent (January 78) declarations of the Carter Administration vetoing direct Communist participation to government have with a single blow destroyed the myth of the possibility of choosing a path independent of Washington and Moscow. On this occasion it came out clearly how Carter is actually maneuvered by the technocrats of the IMF (International Monetary Fund), to which the Italian government is deeply in debt. The IMF, though little worried about possible Communist threats to democracy, care a lot about the economic reliability of the country and are persuaded that a Communist government, though maintaining the domination of capital would be ready, perhaps under the pressure from below, to declare the state bankrupt thus causing a chain reaction involving other indebted countries (Great Britain, France . . .). This would certainly mean the collapse of the already precarious international credit system, of the IMF end of its scarcity strategy.

Though we don't share the IMF paranoid vision and even credit the PCI as the only political force having the actual ability to impose scarcity (see declaration of Lema, note 10), we know well enough that the only capitalist way out of the crisis is to increase exploitation and, in this phase, to expand the base of *consent*. This means to increase the output of ideology i.e. mystification and false consciousness. Ideology becomes a powerful countertendency to the falling rate of profit and is more and more subject to the same laws that regulate the production and circulation of classical commodities. Normalization and ossified behavioral models are its tools. If in moments of harmonious development, recourse is made to the strategy of repressive tolerance, in crisis periods it becomes vital to *block* the expression of all truly radical opposition, and to pass directly to cannibalization and slaughter (16). The Germanization of the state, so feared in the parlors of "intellectual" dissant, is *already* an effective reality.

Claudio Albertani

## footnotes

1. "Capital is the moving contradiction, (in) that it presses to reduce labor time to a minimum, while it posits labor time on the other side, as the sole measure and source of wealth. Hence it diminishes labor time in the necessary form so as to increase it in the superfluous form, hence it posits the superfluous, in growing measure as a condition—a question of life and death—for the necessary." (GRUNDRISSE p.706, trans. M. Nicolaus)

2. GRUNDRISSE, op. cit., p.748

3. THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE, Progress Publishers, Part II p.527.

4. "Capital invested in the means of production advances relatively faster than capital invested in labor power. Because surplus value is surplus-labor time, the reduction of labor time relative to the growing mass of unproductive capital leads to a fall in the rate of profit since this rate is measured on total capital, i.e. on both the capital invested in means of production or constant capital, and that invested in labor-power or variable capital. The tendential fall of the rate of profit is just another expression for the accumulation of capital and the increasing productivity of labor." (Paul Mattick, MARXISM AND MONOPOLY CAPITAL, Root and Branch pamphlet p.6)

5. "I (...) call capital of circulation, capital pertinent to the process of circulation, to a change of form by means of exchange (a change of substance and a change of hands), hence commodity-capital and money capital, as distinguished from its form pertinent to the process of production, that of productive capital." (CAPITAL, II, p.192—International Publ.)

6. The rate of exploitation or rate of surplus value is measured by the relation between surplus value and variable capital (wages): s/v.

7. The relation between constant capital (c) and variable capital (v). Measures growth in productivity of labor.
8. In the section of CAPITAL relative to the "results of the immediate process of production," Marx talks about two different periods of capitalist domination: "the form based on absolute surplus value is what I call the formal subsumption of labor under capital. I do so because it is only formally distinct from earlier modes of production on whose foundations it arises spontaneously (...), on this foundation it now arises a technologically and otherwise specific mode of production—capitalist production—which transforms the nature of the labor process and its actual conditions. Only when that happens we witness the real subsumption of labor under capital (which) is developed in all the forms evolved by relative as opposed to absolute surplus value. With the real subsumption of labor under capital a complete revolution takes place in the mode of production, in the productivity of the workers and in the relations between the workers and capitalists." (CAPITAL, pp. 1025 & 1034, Vintage Books). For a further examination of these concepts, see: Jacques Camatte, IL CAPITALE TOTALE, DEDALO LIBRI (Bari 1976) and Gianni Colla, "Transizione" in Cesarano Colla, APOCALISSE e RIVOLUZIONE (Bari, 1974).
9. In the yearly LE MONDE report on the world economy we read that at the end of 1977 in the OECD countries there have been some 700,000 unemployed more than at the beginning of the year. (SUPPLEMENTS AUX DOSSIERS ET DOCUMENTS DU MONDE—January 1978)
10. This has been lately observed by Lama himself (secretary of the CGIL—the Communist controlled union) who in a recent radio broadcast, talking about the end of marginal sacrifices and beginning of the real ones (!), supported the necessity of relaunching capitalist accumulation and re-establishing some kind of mobility of labor (see CORRIERE DELLA SERA, January 27, 1978). Lama is thus supporting the positions of Agnelli and Confindustria (an employers union).
11. The ensemble of phenomena which the economists call "stagflation" (stagnation plus inflation, the simultaneous rise of prices and unemployment and the decline of production) is an involuted way of expressing the perennial difficulty capital has in reproducing itself on a larger scale, and another way of expressing the fall in the rate of profit. These data represent the theoretical
12. "With the development of interest bearing capital and the credit system, all capital seems to double itself and sometimes to treble itself, by the various modes in which the same capital or perhaps even the same claim on a debt, appears in different forms, in different hands. The greater portion of this "money-capital" is purely fictitious." (CAPITAL III, p.470—International Pub.). "The actual process of production (...) gives rise to new formations in which the vein of internal connections is increasingly lost, the production relations are rendered independent of one another." (p.828)—my emphasis.
13. Amendola himself, the most outspoken PCI member, in a recent interview (CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Jan. 4, 1978) talked about the continuity between the PCI policy and the Risorgimento.
14. "In reality the system of exchange value, and better still, the monetary system, is the system of freedom and equality. The contradictions that arise in its later development are immanent to it; they are implications of this property, this freedom, and this equality. In actual fact, the latter are transformed, here and there into their opposite. To imagine that exchange value does not develop, from commodities to money, into capital, or that work that produces exchange values does not result in wage labor, is wishful thinking and foolish besides. (Marx, Urtext GRUND-RISSE pp. 1111-12 Italian edition).
15. This is not the place to broach in any profound manner in a critique of democracy. Others in the old workers movement have done radically enough already: for instance the Italian left (Sinistra Comunista) and also to some extent the German left. Here it suffices to note that democracy along with its system of representation is the political expression of commodity alienation: as such it is an historical category bound to be suppressed with the suppression of capital. As for antifascism the history has proved it to be a trap, thanks to which capital has been able to cannibalize hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries.

- Regarding this, Bordiga was to declare: "The worst product of fascism is antifascism." To demand democracy means to demand the process of value's autonomization; fascism and democracy are only different political forms for the same content: the dictatorship of capital.
16. Referring to this, consider the recent massacre of the remainders of the "Baader-Meinhof" group (Red Army Fraction—RAF).
  17. While the cop-like practice of the PCI is generally acknowledged, less well known is the similar attitude of these groups toward anybody who takes his/her stand to the left of them. The old stalinist habit is in such cases quickly rediscovered: slander and the club.
  18. For a detailed analysis of some of those experiences in the period 1974-75, see ZEROWORK. The arguments put forward in this review are very close to those of the Autonomia Operaia in Italy.
  19. Another occupation with similar purposes that is still alive is run by a homosexual revolutionary collective in via Morigi (Milan).
  20. We can mention a few here: Zut, La Congiura de' Pazzi, Viola, Il Piccolo, Il Cerchio di Gesso, Poco, La Scimmia, Insurrezione, etc. Interesting too is the phenomena of free radio with strong revolutionary contents such as Radio Alice in Bologna and Radio Onda Rossa in Rome.
  21. On the February events in Rome, see the documents gathered in the book LE RADICI DI UNA RIVOLTA, Feltrinelli 1977.
  22. On the March events in Bologna, see the book BOLOGNA FATTI NOSTRI, Bertani 1977. Account and comments by the staff of Radio Alice.
  23. Manifesto handed out in Bologna, Sept. 23, 1977, signed "Associazione per l'epidemia della rabbia contagiosa" (Association for the propagation of the epidemic of contagious rage).

## Authority Subscriptions

We are offering subscriptions for 4 issues at £1 or \$2. This should last about a year.

Also available are copies of "On Workers Autonomy" a translation from "Jeune Taupe" the journal of the french group "Pour une Intervention Communiste". Please send a stamped addressed envelope.

The next issue should appear this autumn.

# POLICE 5

Following the murder of Blair Peach by members of the Special Patrol Group the left has been putting forward a host of protests. This is of course unfair criticism of a group of dedicated police officers who have excelled in their maintenance of law and order even going so far as to construct their own weapons to kill people with. But this is after all their job - intimidating and terrorising the populace during periods of social upheaval.

But Len Murray, TUC General Secretary, has said that the SPG's role should be reduced. He is not clear to what extent - is the breaking of limbs sufficient, or is causing permanent brain damage what's in order? There are a whole variety of injuries which stop short of actual death. This idea is however ridiculous as it would place a further burden on the already over-stretched health services. There is no shortage of cemetery plots, but hospital beds have become a precious commodity.

He also referred to disquiet about the SPG amongst the ranks of trade unionists. He mentioned fears of the development of a "distinctive french-style riot police". No doubt this accompanies fears of french-style riots. It seems that english-style trade unionists do not relish having to emulate their brethren in the C.G.T., who protected the CRS riot police from enraged workers earlier this year. When the unions are no longer capable of diffusing the class struggle into tedious and pointless negotiations they will probably be too busy protecting themselves to spare a thought for the SPG.

As for the trotskyists, they'll just have to swallow any pride they may have left when, just like their french comrades they line up alongside their would-be murderers. This will be when it becomes "objectively necessary" to guard banks and public buildings from the molotov cocktails of the "agent-provateurs" who dare to interpret the slogan of "class war" in a literal fashion.

## 'ELLO 'ELLO

You may be surprised to receive an article from someone employed in my particular profession, nevertheless, I shall proceed. I am a policeman, but I also consider myself a worker. While we police do not produce any surplus-value and therefore cannot be regarded as classical 'proletarians', we are perhaps in the historical sense the first 'service-workers'. In short we are part of the working class. I would like to write about myself, my relation to the force, and a strategy for the few revolutionaries within the force.

I have been a policeman for almost twenty years, a lifelong Labour Party voter, in fact I contemplated joining during the late sixties. I have steadfastly refused any sort of promotion and have remained an ordinary constable. I read a lot, and due to my studies have arrived at an 'ultra-left' perspective. When my social and political interests began to shift from a vague left arena into a more worker based ideology, I attended a few left-wing meetings. It was here that I got a rude awakening, I learnt that the capitalist system would never be overthrown by people like this. Mostly middle class intellectuals, they were put off by my age, my 'straight' appearance. When I informed them that I was a policeman I was physically threatened and verbally abused. Needless to say I did not return. Reading more I discovered anarchism and libertarian-communism. I attended meetings. However here I felt completely isolated and dared not utter a single word about my employment. Deliberately over intellectual, using long words; in futile attempts to impress each other, and besides hardly any of them were workers. I have been in a void for a couple of years but I have been pleased to see an expanding 'workerist' tendency within the anarchist/libertarian-communist movement. I would like to lay out a possible strategy for the police force, a task that the so-called revolutionaries have yet to face.

You may wonder why I have not left the force. When I first joined I really -relieved the old "Dixon of Dock Green" image - helping old ladies across the road, finding lost property, lost children, helping the community. In fact for many years it was just like that, although I did find the deskwork long and tedious. Over the last few years I have noted an alarming number of trends, the technological and ideological changes, the increasing role of the police in politics and industrial conflict (Grunwicks and Southall). The creation of the SPG, the arms training programmes are two more examples. This is all a long way from policing as I understand it, catching villains, not brutalising trade unionists. Why then have I not left the force and taken a more "honest" job? Because I sincerely believe that to depart at this critical moment in time would leave the force in complete control of the racists, sadists and bigots, and that would be a total abdication of social responsibility. No, we intend to remain, to change the consciousness of our fellow workers in blue, to create revolutionary autonomous cells within every police-station. My own working situation may be of some interest.

My own working situation may be of some interest. I work in a small station on the outskirts of north London, in a "quiet" patch that sees little urban violence or industrial disputes. We mostly pound an old fashioned beat and are known to the local people by our first names. Make no mistake, many of my colleagues bitterly resent being drafted into the central areas to protect racist marches and meetings and trying to interfere with picket lines. The only action we can take in these circumstances is to report "sick". Of course we cannot all go sick simultaneously, therefore we rotate our "sickness" periods. When we the class conscious policemen are forced into this duty, we show very little enthusiasm during these pickets and demos. In our

In our station there are about half a dozen of us who constitute a militant grouping. Most of us have been in the force for quite some time. We are all constables although we do have the sympathy of one desk sergeant. For reasons that are obvious we cannot at this moment be too open, but we did raise £17 and a turkey for our local fire station during the strike the year before last. Most police were in total sympathy with our firemen comrades and although the possibility of ourselves taking industrial action has lessened, our solidarity with other workers is important, especially in the public sector. We need to develop a strong public sector alliance. Of course we have no faith in the so-called Police Federation.

## POLICING IN REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY

What would be the role of a police force in a revolutionary workers society? We don't want to end up like Russia, Cuba or East Germany do we? A couple of us have drawn up a few notes which may go towards helping in future discussions.

The present form of the police force will have to be totally reorganised. Its reason for existence, its mode of operation, its relation to society. In a revolutionary society we think the force should be under the total control of the community, the community itself being represented by delegated bodies such as workers councils, democratically elected residential combinations such as tenants and squatters groups. Other co-ordinating syndicates will represent marginal sectors. It is obvious that during the first triumphant phase of the workers' revolution, during the transitional period leading up to the liberation of humanity, there will be tremendous convulsions within the force, which, if relative to the situation in the rest of society, will mean the expulsion of regressive elements. The SPG AND CID will have to be abolished, as will the operation of plain clothes duties. We see the police uniform is held in fear and loathing by the majority of the community, so therefore we believe that unpleasant memories should be erased by changing the composition of the uniform. Perhaps we can do away with uniforms altogether, replacing it with an armband denoting name, district and workers council.

Everybody should have the right to join irregardless of race, size, sex or sexual preference - workers councils having the right to recall or veto any incorrigible individuals. All weapons will be taken from the police to arm the workers militias (who will perform many policing functions). The police will only be re-armed during certain periods by express permission of the workers councils.

(continued page 19)

## Anti-Fascism at Work



Thousands of commonwealth citizens, both black and white, died fighting for british imperialism. They resolutely abandoned any solidarity they may have had with german, italian, or japanese workers and collaborated in the war effort. When Nagasaki marked the triumph of democracy, they were assured their share of the spoils of war. But now that those spoils have all been used up, we must not now turn on the blacks. We must stand up and defend their right to an equal share of misery.

## Notes on Class

by

Jean-Jacques Gizenga Lumumbaoto.

I'm a comrade from West Africa. I've just been on a "whistle-stop" tour of Europe and in the course of my travels, I've been fortunate enough to stay with other anarchist comrades in Islington. My limited stay hasn't really enabled me to study social life in detail, these hurried observations were put together in a couple of days. Although I've travelled extensively, I have never seen such a class ridden society as you have here in England. In these notes I have compared two areas, their inhabitants and lifestyles. One is the working class area of Barnsbury-Cannonbury, the other, the middle class area of Hackney.

On the Continent, in the cities of Africa and the U.S.A., the middle class live in gross luxury in plush high-rise apartments while the workers live in shanty towns (except the U.S.A.). Over here the situation is little different, the middle classes live in "tower blocks" in Hackney, and the workers live in small modest artisans cottages in Barnsbury and Cannonbury. Poverty and opulence are reflected in the contrasting lifestyles. While the workers live on a simple diet, mostly vegetarian (as is in line with their basically humanitarian outlook) such as nuts, meusli, dates and rice, bake their own bread and display great ingenuity in brewing their own

alcoholic beverages, the middle classes, as befits their gross incomes, spend large amounts of money in "supermarkets" emerging bleary-eyed from these abundantly stocked places laden with goods. The middle classes are so decadent they even buy their bread already sliced! wrapped up in packets! they are ferocious meat eaters and heavy drinkers. Many of the men have huge bloated bellies, products of excess.

As I am familiar with the life-styles of high-rise dwellers (wall-to-wall carpeting, central heating etc.) I will leave this out. The comrades I stayed with in Canonbury took me on many visits to their neighbours. The workers live in spartan conditions, for example bare boards, no curtains or coverings on the windows, many of their possessions over a hundred years old, but preserved with loving care. Many workers don't even possess a bed but sleep on a simple mattress on the floor. The middle classes push their pampered offspring around in perambulators, the working class women carry around their kids papoose style, like the women of my own country. The schoolchildren of the middle classes wear expensive uniforms, the working class kids go to school in casual attire, jeans, plimsols. As the middle-class kids can afford the luxury of public transport, the workers' kids cannot and they have to use a primitive means of transportation - the "skateboard". In the middle class areas like Hackney, public transport is very thin on the ground, the authorities are aware, I think, that almost all the middle classes are automobile owners, "motors" being one of the main topics of conversation. Most workers ride to work on bicycles, showing their concern for the environment. Others run to work (unable to afford the fare) in tracksuits.

The politics of the middle classes are predictable, you only have to see the portraits of the Queen hanging on their walls, the Jubilee and the union jacks hanging from their gaudy dwellings to know how they identify with the backward elements of the bourgeoisie. The decadence of the middle classes is shown by their "taste" in reading matter, cheap detective novels, spy melodramas, cowboy books - one wonders how they manage to maintain their position in society - typical of their lighter reading .... Sporting Life, Playboy, Womens' Own.... With the working class things couldn't be more different. Their bookshelves groan under the weight of Marx, Engels,

Lenin, Bakunin, Trotsky; scattered throughout their humble abodes, resting on their simple coffee-tables, lay copies of Socialist Challenge, Zero, Socialist Worker, Newsline.

Many working class people have "stuff the Jubilee" stickers in their windows, the younger workers wear "Tom Robinson Band" badges. Tom Robinson, as I understand it, is a contemporary revolutionary who has emerged from the same plebian origins as the workers of Barnsbury. His "band" I believe to be a group of revolutionary outlaws.

A sad sight is presented by a class in decline; the middle-classes are hopelessly racist, many are violently anti-squatter, pro-police, law and order, but the workers present an altogether different outlook. Many workers are pro-squatter, as many of their sons and daughters are squatters anyway. Many workers are internationalist, supporting groups like the MPLA, IRA, RAF, PLO. Their bedroom walls are covered in posters supporting these worthy causes, and of course support is given to issues closer to home; N.A.C. and the Anti-Nazi League.

The middle classes spend most of their time plunked in front of their colour tellys, night and day, whilst the workers devote their spare time going to meetings, forming consciousness raising groups (the latter more applicable to the women). Workers here practice mutual aid, they cut each others hair, have communal gardens and street festivals. Another unusual form of mutual aid is the "jumble-sale", many workers are so poor that they exclusively clothe themselves with attire purchased at these functions.

As regards sex, the middle classes personify the worst in bourgeois society, aggressively heterosexual-pro-family, patriarchal, even their voices are loud and "butch" (This applies to both sexes). Macho pervades. The workers however I live a free sexual life-style, many are openly "gay" and wear badges proclaiming this fact. Of course they never venture into the middle class areas festooned with badges, except when "smashing the Front" (this is an unusual ritual which involves encircling school buildings, protected by thousands of police. Many workers don't bother with the ceremony of marriage, and in fact many swap partners on a regular basis. The workers are softly spoken, rational, gentle, graceful and beautiful and more and more they are raising their heads as they build a new world.

# Luxemburg

## et

### la Passion du Jargonisme

or.....TOP OF THE CLASS - A quiz for radicals.

INSTRUCTIONS: First read the following quotations carefully (best not done on a full stomach).

- 1) There are no 'socialist countries' on this planet.....
- 2) There is no difference between any of them;they're all the same.
- 3) We must answer the phoney promises of the capitalist politicians by proclaiming the real promise held out by todays class struggle: INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION,A WORLD-WIDE COMMUNIST COMMUNITY.
- 4) Not for these syphilitic prostitutes of capital the autonomous resistance of the class struggle,for that struggle will mercilessly destroy them.
- 5) There are no socialist countries in the world today.
- 6) Socialism will only be created by the international power of the workers councils, which will destroy all other power,dissolve national boundaries and establish a new world human community.
- 7) Depress the safety switch before removing access panel. Throw of your nuts and bolts. The time has come.....INORGANIC COMRADES ARISE!
- 8) As the crisis worsens,we have to fight for the UNIFICATION of strike committees, and the formation of WORKERS COUNCILS,which will centralise the fight against capitalism,put an end to the charade of parliamentary democracy and establish workers democracy.
- 9) The international class struggle,in the east and in the west,will lead to a world revolution,and to the dictatorship of the proletariat,the only way of putting an end to state murder forever.

Surprisingly all these quotes did not originate from the same source. Test your "cliche power" (before it's swept away by the workers councils - see No.6) by matching the quotes to their sources.

A) International Communist Current, B) Rising Free collective, C) Nothing to Loose, D) Communist Workers-Organisation, E) De Selby.  
Some sources are responsible for more than one of the atrocities. Answers at the foot of the page.

Albert Gascoigne,  
Quiz Secretariat,  
Capitalist Workers Party

Answers: 1-A,2-B,3-A,4-C,5-B,6-B,7-E,8-D,9-C

The police will become economically self sufficient; all police will be obligated to work on 'urban farms, paint old peoples' houses, organise kids outings etc. Positions of responsibility will be filled by elected delegates, chosen by universal acclaim at mass meetings held in the stations. We see such co-ordinating functions being subject to instant recall.

We automatically assume that a policing force will be required, even in a revolutionary society, the survival of anti-social elements such as rapists, arsonists, counter revolutionary groe

arsonists, counter-revolutionary groups and individuals that refuse to recognise the sovereign power of the workers councils, will necessitate our existence for a certain transitional period. In order to render our functions as inoffensive as possible, we will no longer be known as police, but as police-people. Police stations will become community terminals, police cars will become "chi-chi"s.....

## ELECTIONS

The recent elections in Britain have caused a certain amount of turmoil. The leftists finding the glorious labour party in the throes of defeat have concluded that this is because they have not kept to "socialist" policies. But the only socialism that the labour party knows about is national socialism. Faced with the tendency of profits to fall, and the need to maintain a competitive edge over foreign rivals, the labour policy since the war has been to draw more and more economic activity under the protective cloak of the state. With this concentration of capital and the continuing increase of the rate of exploitation (productivity deals) british capital has been able to hold its own. However it has been necessary to have periodic changes of shift, and so now it is the turn of the Tories to wield the pruning clippers.

One way of dealing with the fall of the profit rate is to liquidate vast areas of capital. If the situation is drastic, it may be accomplished through war. Carpet bombing can raise whole cities, physically destroying the competitor and allowing the introduction of new techniques by the conquering power in the period of reconstruction. On a smaller scale the fiscal policies of the Tories should be sufficient. Government aid is limited, money becomes scarce, weaker capitals are hard pressed. We face the prospect of sleepless nights as we are kept awake by the sound companies crashing. The idea of this is that it should precipitate the influx of capital into the profitable areas whilst the less profitable areas wither or bud forth again, only not so bloated with investment. This is the Barre plan in France. It is the Thatcher plan in Britain. It doesn't work. Unemployment will zoom up and promises to cause the same problems that Barre has had in Longwy and Denain. The expanding sectors of the economy are still burdened with the dying capital around them and cannot absorb it fast enough. When they do absorb it they in turn become bloated and can no longer maintain their high profit rate.

The prospect awaiting us now is the resurgence and continuation of the struggles of last winter and of 1973/4. But they will be more desperate and more widespread. This will not necessarily mean that they break out of the trade union structure and confront the bourgeoisie as a class although the possibility of this can only become stronger. The labour party will be forced to veer to the left to try and accommodate the workers struggle. This highlights the need to struggle against the labour party and its unions who will be ready to save the country by resuming the mantle of governmental office.

But this doesn't explain why a significant section of the workers went out to vote for "market capitalism" as opposed to "corporate capitalism". In the area around Ford's Dagenham the shift to the Tories was 13% as opposed to a London average of 5-6%.

It was as much frustration with governmental wage restraint as belief that they might benefit from Tory policies. But the promise of wage increases for workers in profitable concerns will soon vapourise as even the most profitable enterprises find that they can only maintain their position on the market by depressing wages.



## Publications

### JEUNE TAUPE

c/o Librairie Parallele, 47 rue  
St Honore 75001, Paris, France.  
Journal of the group "Pour une  
Intervention Communist"

### COMMUNIST PROGRAM

Editions Programme, 20 rue Jean-Bou-  
ton, 75012, Paris, France.  
English Journal of the Bordigist  
International Communist Party.

### A WORLD TO WIN

P.O.Box 1587, San Francisco, CA 94101,  
USA  
Historical and analytical articles.

### FIFTH ESTATE

4403 Second Avenue, Detroit, MI 48201  
USA

They maintain a high standard of  
provocative articles. Our article  
on Italy originally appeared in this.

### ROOT & BRANCH

Box 236, Somerville, MA 02143, USA  
Historical and analytic articles.  
Influenced by the ideas of Paul  
Mattick.

### WORLDREVOLUTION

BM Box 869, London WC1V 6XX  
Great Britain  
Good for cliches and footnotes.

### REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES

CWO, c/o 21 Durham Street, Pelaw,  
Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, NE10 0XS,  
Great Britain.  
Journal of the Communist Workers  
Organisation. Not so modern Bol-  
sheviks.

### ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT

B.P. 241, 75886 Paris Cedex 18,  
France.  
Publish pamphlets in various  
languages. See particularly the  
booklet on Poland 1976

### MINUS 5

180 Lockhardt Road, 1st Floor, Wan-  
chai, Hong-Kong.  
Mainly written about China by some  
ex-red guards.

These are publications which we find  
more or less interesting even if  
some of them sound as though they  
are written by people founding a  
new religion than part of a move-  
ment to change the world.

# Authority no.2

BOX 666, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1, U.K.